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THE
G R O A N S
O F
B ————— *N.*



THE
G R O A N S
O F
B ————— N :

O R, A
PATHETICAL DISPLAY
O F T H E

Many Hardships, Miseries, and Oppressions
to which this Distressed Nation is become
subjected ; by engaging in a tedious, ruinous,
expensive, and fruitless War on the Conti-
nent, the Propagation of Corruption through-
out the Constitution, and the Increase of
Factions and Broils amongst Ourselves.

By a Lover of his Country.

L O N D O N :

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The G R O A N S of B-----N.

Notwithstanding the many Arts that have been used, both by our former and present M——rs, to keep the People ignorant of the wretched Condition to which this Nation is become reduced, by the Avarice, Ambition, and Rapine of those that have had successively the greatest Influence in our C——ls, and by whose perverse Obstinacy, and erroneous Conduct, we have been engaged in the most remote Broils on the Continent; yet the Miseries which we labour under are at length become so onerous, as to oblige such as have long affected to wear the Mask of Insensibility, to drop their Vizards, and openly confess, that Affairs are not altogether in such a promising Situation, as to afford those pleasant ideal Prospects, wherewith they have too long amused themselves, and imposed on the credulous Vulgar.

It is certain that the utmost Endeavours have been practised, to immerse Truth deeper in her Well than ever any Philosopher, either ancient or modern, yet found her; but still it cannot prevent our being fully convinced, that *Great Britain* has all along contributed a much larger Quota to the War, both in Men and Money, than was her Share: and that we have not only assumed the character of *Ballance-Masters-General*, but also have suffer'd ourselves to be made the *Pay-Masters-General*, of *Europe*. Inasmuch that altho' we had the least View of any People, of availing us by this War, when we first set out upon it, yet such has been the inconsiderate and rash Management of our Leaders, that we have not only been forc'd to bear more than a common Part in the Calamity, but also are obliged to continue under the Oppression of this heavy and grievous Yoke, without Hopes of obtaining any Compensation for our Sufferings and Losses, or the least Satisfaction for those Injuries, which were so plausibly urged as the specious Pretext, for our entering on such destructive Measures and Engagements as have hitherto been pursued. So that it may with the greatest Justice be aver'd, that every State, which has felt the Effects of this dreadful Combustion, that has overspread almost all *Europe*, may be said to enjoy greater Comforts in

in their Misery, than the poor distressed Kingdom of *Great Britain*: As they can support themselves with the Hopes of obtaining a thorough Reparation of their Losses, on the Arrival of a Peace; or flatter themselves with the plausible Views they have entertain'd of gaining such new Acquisitions, by the Continuance of the War, as may thoroughly indemnify them for all the Losses and Charges they have suffered. But as these Points may appear a little incredible at first sight, to those that are prejudiced by Interest, Obstinacy, or Prejudgments, I shall attempt to illustrate them in a few Words; and render what I have advanced sufficiently conspicuous even to the most darkened or wilful *Blind Man* in this Kingdom.

In order therefore to set Matters in a true Light, it is necessary to take a cursory View of the Hopes and Fears of the Parties already engaged in the Belligerent State; and by comparing them with these which we feel in the like condition, it will enable us, in the end, justly to determine who has the greatest, or least Cause, to despond on the present Occasion: And also by this Comparison, we shall become better acquainted with the Happiness or Misery of our present Situation; and may thereby prevent ourselves being deluded by the false Hopes, or terrified
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by the imaginary Fears, of the Wicked and Designing.

In the first place, then let us cast our Eyes upon those that seem to be on the winning Side of the Game : And here, undoubtedly we shall meet with the greatest Expectations and the fewest Fears. Although *France* may exult on her Victories and Conquests, yet she certainly cannot deny having very sensibly felt the Effects of War, both in her Marine and Commerce; which latter has encreased so prodigiously, since the last War, as to be more advantageous than any Acquisitions she can expect to gain by Arms, unless it be such as will Cause an Addition to her Trade. *France* may have been pretty severely galled both in her Navy and Commerce, yet she has the Consolation of having made several fortunate Campaigns; and if her Finances have suffered a considerable Diminution, yet she has that Comfort remaining, to exercise her Reflection and cheer her Spirits, (which it has not been our Fortune to obtain) of having not lavished her Blood and Treasures in vain : But, by extending her Empire, is become the Mistress of a large and fruitful Territory, well situated for compleating her Views of engrossing *Universal Commerce*, and inhabited by a People who were formerly frugal and industrious, till the

the Ambition and Avarice of their Governors exposed them to the continual Havock and Depredations of War, and the arbitrary Oppressions of the several new Masters, which they were obliged to subject themselves to, in such an unhappy State, put an end to their Industry, and deprived them of the Benefit they had long held of being possessed of the chief Mart of Trade in *Europe*; which was soon after removed into another Country, where it now remains. However, we need not in the least doubt, but the Policy of *France* will be quick-sighted enough to make the greatest Advantage of her Conquests, by opening again the Market of her new Subjects, soon as it is in the Power of her Arms to secure them quietly in their natural Industry and Commerce, by the Acquisition of such a Barrier as may keep the Rage of War from their Doors. This we have the greater Reason to expect, since *France*, as I before observed, has been so assiduously bent from the Treaty of *Utrecht*, to the breaking out of the present War, in improving and extending her Trade: and should her Arms put her in possession of the *Seven Provinces*, we should perceive, that Universal Commerce was more to be esteemed the Ultimate of her Wishes, than even Universal Dominion itself; as it would be almost impracticable for her to support the latter, so as to reap any Benefit there-

therefrom, without the Assistance of the former. But although there may, at present, be but little likelihood of her gaining so great an Ascendancy ; yet it is certain that the having such pleasing Prospects in view, may greatly alleviate those Hardships, which the protracting the War must oblige her to endure.

Every one knows, that it is far from being the Interest of *Spain* to wage War with *England* ; and she has undoubtedly been a great Sufferer, not only by our ransacking her *American* Territories, and making such large and rich Captures of her mercantile Shipping, but also by our preventing the bringing home of Treasures from the *West Indies*, which now lie there mouldering in Storehouses, till a Peace shall secure their Passage to *Europe* : And the *Spaniards* themselves are become so thoroughly sensible of the Truth of their old Proverb, *Peace with England, and War with the whole World*, that were it not for a *French* Influence, which prevails as much in their Councils, even against the National Interest, as that of the *Dutch* does elsewhere, we should soon find them ready to embrace Peace with *Britain*, almost on *Carte-Blanche* Terms. But though the most sensible Part of the *Spanish* Nation are fully convinced,

convinced, that their prolonging the War in complaisance to the *French* Court, is a great Prejudice to themselves; nevertheless, they comfort themselves, and cherish the People, with the Hopes of obtaining a Kingdom for *Don Philip*, and of making such extraordinary Acquisitions, by the Assistance of the *French* Arms, as may fully compensate all former Losses: and it is these specious Views that have hitherto prevented their harkning to any Terms of Peace that have been proposed to them separately, without the Concurrence of their grand Ally and Confederate the *French* King.

As for the *Genoese*, they have been in a manner compelled to take that Part in the War which they have done, by the Maltreatment they suffered from the House of *Austria*; and would have readily accepted of a Neutrality, could they have possibly hit on any other Expedient for recovering of *Final*, which the Empress Queen was about depriving them of, to oblige the King of *Sardinia*. However, though they have certainly been great Sufferers, having at one time nearly lost their All, yet the Success of that glorious Stand, which they made at last, in Defence of their Liberties, against the Invasion and Encroachments of arbitrary Power, and the considerable Succours that our watch-

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ful Fleets and Squadrons have suffered them to receive, from time to time, both from the *French* and *Spaniards*, has so exhilarated their Spirits, that they even live in hopes of being again re-established in their former Rights and Properties ; and to receive, at the Conclusion of a Peace, a full Indemnification for all Losses that they have suffered. Happy would it be for *Britain*, could she entertain herself with the least Prospect of ever acquiring such Satisfaction, for the immense Quantity of Blood and Treasure that she has expended.

Having thus taken a slight View of the Condition and Expectations of our Enemies, let us now turn our Eyes on that of our Friends, Neighbours, and Allies ; in whose Quarrel we have embarked, or rather, whose Protection we have taken upon our own Hands. The House of *Austria* suffered very much, at the Beginning of the War, both from the *Prussian* and *French* Forces ; yet being enabled by our Mediation and Assistance, not only to recover most of her lost Territories, but also to place an Emperor on the Throne, even against the natural Inclinations of all the Princes in *Germany*, she has obtained enough to satisfy her, if Ambition had any Bounds, even were such of
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the *Low Countries*, as are now in the Possession of the *French*, quite irretrievable ; as, notwithstanding her Pride and haughty Desires of extensive Dominion, it is well known, she was never able to support and garrison those Countries sufficiently. But she has not only the Consolation of certainly having her Power re-instated in those Countries, at the Conclusion of a Peace ; but also of obtaining adequate Satisfaction for such Part of her Territories, as she shall be obliged to part with in favour of *Don Philip*, or any other Power.

The King of *Sardinia* has received such large Subsidies ever since the Commencement of the War, and they have been so punctually paid, as to enable him to make that vigorous Defence, which we have had the Pleasure to behold, against his Enemies : and if he should lose a small Part of his Territories for the present, yet the almost absolute Certainty of having them restored, when Matters come to be made up, with a thorough Reparation for all Injuries, must needs induce him to pursue the War with Ardour and Vigour.

As to our good Neighbours, and High and Mighty Allies, the *Dutch*, though they have suffered the *French* to get footing in their

Territories, by their double Dealing ; yet they have the Comfort to reflect, that the War has hitherto cost them little or nothing, in Lives or Money, in comparison to what it has done *Great Britain* ; that they are always sure of having such a Majority of Friends in this Island, as, even should they be obliged to declare War against *France*, would effectually screen them from furnishing their full Quota's, either of Troops, Shipping, or Money : In a word, notwithstanding their affecting a more deplorable Condition than what they are really reduced to, in order to prevail with the tender *British* Hearts to untie their Purse-Strings, and bleed freely on this Occasion ; yet it is well known, that if they can condition with *Great Britain* to let them prosecute the War on their own Terms, and in such a manner as may best suit their private Interest ; that it will be easy for them at any time to prevail on *France* for a Neutrality, or separate Peace, if Matters should not succeed, in a Campaign or two, according to their Wishes : or otherwise, should Fortune declare in favour of the Allies, they are thoroughly certain of being fully indemnified for all Charges and Losses, at that happy Congress which shall give Peace to *Europe*. And it is well known, by former Instances, that their High Mightinesses will
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not fail insisting on a full Compensation for their Sufferings; which probably they will easier obtain from the Good-Nature, and at the Expence of their Allies, than from any other Power, in order to remove all Obstructions to that much wished-for Event a General Peace. However that be, yet the *Hollanders* may comfort themselves with the strongest Assurances of being no Losers by War, even should their Enemies prevail; if they have but the cautionary Discretion to keep a good Look-out, before Things run to too great Extremities.

These are the chief Consolations that alleviate the Miseries of War, amongst all those that are engaged therein, except *Great Britain*: But to what Resource she can apply for Comfort in her Calamity, or what Expedients she can make use of to obtain any Satisfaction for her Injuries, or Reparation for her Losses, does not at present appear so evident, as to ground the least Hopes on. We may, indeed, just buoy ourselves up from sinking into Despair, by being in Possession of *Cape Breton*. The Expectations that arise of either holding that Place in our own Hands, or receiving such Advantages in Exchange for it, as will benefit our Commerce, may keep our Spirits up for a time; but even these

these Hopes are too thin to rely on, as there rather appears the strongest Reasons to suspect, that valuable Acquisition will fall a Sacrifice to the Ambition or Avarice of our Allies; and that we shall be obliged to surrender it, either to obtain the *Netherlands* for the House of *Austria*, or some Indemnifications for the *Hollanders*. For though we have borne the chief Burden of the War, yet it is much to be feared that in a Congress we shall be the last Party whose Losses will be thought upon for Reparation; as both our Friends and Enemies will have the Gratification of their own separate Interests too much at heart, to think on those of *Great Britain*: so that if our Plenipotentiaries are not exceeding able and active, we shall stand but very little Chance of obtaining any Compensation for all our Trouble, Losses, and Expence.

Thus much is necessary to be premised concerning our Foreign Affairs, in order to refute that Notion of the *Sufferings of our Neighbours and Allies, by the War, being abundantly greater than our own; and that their Expectations are exceeding less than ours, of ever meeting with any Redress*: which Falsity some are endeavouring to impose on us, purely to divert our Attention from those
Grievances

Grievances and Miseries which we labour under, to the Complaints of others, that are founded on lesser Reasons.

Whatever Means other Nations may find of supporting the War, it is certain that *Great Britain* has only two, her *Commerce* and *Industry*: and as the first has already suffered too much Decay, by our Continuance in Arms, it is much to be feared, that the latter will not long exist amongst us, they being the mutual Supports of each other. Nevertheless, this cannot prevent our M——y exposing us to the Accidents and Mischances of War, by engaging us in the Defence of foreign Territories, and neglecting our Trade, to pursue the empty Phantoms of Glory and Fame.

We have not only the Misfortune to be plunged in a tedious, expensive and fruitless Land-War ; but also of finding it wrong conducted throughout, by those who have had the Management thereof, continually taking such Steps, and pursuing such Measures, as were apparently contrary to the Interest of *Great Britain*. Yet these wise Mismanagers and unskilful Conductors have all along been suffered to proceed with Impunity, nay even without being accused, or
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so much as called upon to vindicate those Undertakings which have been notoriously erroneous to the Eyes of the whole Nation. The foolish and wicked Practices of former M——s have been continually screened by the Influence of their Successors ; so that the Shame of the past Ad———n has been covered by the Connivance of the present, through their Unwillingness to suffer an Examination into the Conduct of their Predecessors, lest it should pave the Way for an Enquiry in their own. Therefore, although we have had several Changes of *Premiers*, since our entering upon the rash Undertaking of a Land-War, yet the fatal Measures that have brought us into such Distress, have not in the least been altered ; but the same destructive Plan has invariably been adhered to by those in Power, whether they assumed the Mask of Courtier, Patriot, or Anti-Patriot.

Thus the same Game has been continually play'd, though by different Hands ; and the publick has greatly suffered by having a Change of Men imposed on them, when it was a Change of Measures only that could assuage their Grievances. The Preference of private Interest to the publick Good, has ever prevented the remedying of
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those Errors that have been committed in the Management of Affairs, and has been the Occasion of all those Endeavours that have been used to conceal rather than detect them.

Though it has all along appeared most evidently, that this Nation could not expect any Benefit, but from a thorough Change in the Ad———n; yet we have long groaned under the Oppression of having the whole Influence of Power engrossed by some particular Persons, who by the Concurrence of Wealth, Interest, Art and Cunning, have formed such a strong Coalition, as enables them to depress others of their Fellow-Subjects to exclude them from the Enjoyment of those Privileges to which they had an equal Right by Birth and Dignity; and by possessing themselves forcibly of the Ad———n, and enclosing the Regal Favours within the narrow Circle of themselves and their Dependants, they have closed all the Avenues of Virtue and Honour against those possessed with Ability, Good-Sense and Experience,

and monopolized the G———t to themselves and their Creatures.

These Men, under the specious Pretence of securing and defending our Liberties, have left us very little more than the bare Name of Liberty to contend for; as it is evident, that they have used the most despotick Practices, in order to establish themselves and their Confederates in that Government, which they have so surreptitiously seized. So that the Liberty of which they would affect to be such zealous Preservers, is, in the main, no more than a few trifling and insignificant Privileges and Immunities, which their own Self-Interest induces them to indulge the People in, that they may thereby the better conceal from them those dark, but artful Designs, which they are projecting; and which, when executed, must certainly blow up that Constitution, which they have been so long and assiduoufly at work in undermining.

This Truth, I believe, will stand in very little need of any Illustration, to those that shall

shall reflect on the extraordinary Progress that Corruption has made amongst us within these few Years ; which, under the Patronage and Encouragement of successive Ad———ns, has extended its baleful Influence into every Branch of Business ; and has received that Authority from those in Power, as to be taken for such a principal and necessary Ingredient in the Constitution, that publick Affairs could not be carried on without it. The Establishment of this iniquitous Theory, and the wicked reducing of it into Practice, has eradicated almost every Species of publick Spirit ; and introduced in its stead a narrow Self-Interestedness, that continually preys on our vital Parts, and has by degrees changed the very Nature of Opinion, Habits, Fame, Glory, Honour ; and, in short, of every thing.

Hence it is that Influence has preceded Merit ; and we have long seen Men preferred to high Posts in the G———t, not from any peculiar Abilities, Genius, or Qualifications of their own, but on account of their in-

violable Attachment to certain Persons in Power, or from their particular Affinity to certain Families. Interest has been more regarded than either Wisdom, Ability, or Virtue; and the publick Wealth has been basely bestowed on worthless and insignificant Tools in Civil Life; and lavishly expended on those that have had neither Merit, Character, or Honour, in the Military. Artifice, Intrigue, with mean Expedients, and low and dirty Jobbs, have long passed for the utmost *Finesse* of Policy. The Power of making plausible Speeches, well interlarded with bitter Invectives, delivered in the most indecent Language, and the Art of defending absolute Contradictions without the least Embarrassment, has been approved of as the greatest Pitch of Eloquence; and those mean and fordid Wretches have been suffered to possess themselves with Power and Riches, that have one Day insulted the Ministry with the most biting Sarcasms, and loaded their Measures with Obloquy, as ruinous and destructive, and the next have pursued those very
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same Measures, which they had before so vehemently railed against.

The Nation has all the while severely felt the dreadful Effects of such heinous Mismanagement, and iniquitous Conduct; by the long Continuance of which, Corruption is become deeply rooted in the very Fundamentals of the Constitution; Venality has gained prodigious Strength and Influence; and private Interest has reached to such an Extent, that the few remaining Honest and Virtuous, who have the real Good of the Nation at heart, are exposed as a restless Faction; and the most eminent Patriots have been bedaubed, by the Creatures of Power, with the most odious and blackest Colours; whereby their Attempts to relieve their Country from those Grievances and Oppressions which she has long groaned under, from the Ignorance and Imbecility of her G——rs, have been rendered vain and fruitless: of the Truth of which we have just had the Misfortune to see a very melancholy Instance, in a certain very able Statesman and eminent Patriot,

Patriot, being obliged at this Juncture to resign his Post ; after having long endeavoured to amend those wretched Measures that have been pursued, and aid that tottering System of bungling Politicks, which, without his Support, must long ago have fallen to the Ground. But though his noble Intentions of relieving his Fellow-Subjects have not been crowned with Success ; yet he certainly deserves the utmost Thanks at our Hands, whose Virtue has undergone such Long-Suffering, in his Endeavours to eradicate Vice, and explode Corruption from our State : and as his laudable Resignation has deprived the wretched Implements of Power of any longer using the Opportunity of covering their detestable Measures with the Cloak of his Coincidence, and screening their pernicious Conduct under the Pretext of his Authority and Assistance ; so it is to be hoped, that now he has declined their Association, and forsaken their Company, we shall soon find their wicked Practices and mean Artifices exposed to that Censure and Punishment which they merit,

merit, from an oppressed and injured People.

The pernicious Example which has been set by those who have forced themselves to the Helm, and exerted their ill-got Power to give Sanction and Encouragement to the most glaring Iniquities and Corruption, has so fatally debauched the Morals of the whole Body of People, that nothing is thought of, nothing else is aimed at, nor any other thing hoped or sought for by them, than the Acquisition of Money: and they seem fully convinced, from the reigning Practices in vogue, that Wealth fully compensates for all other Qualifications, affords a Man a Title to pass for what he pleases, and mounts him up in whatever Profession he chuses to exalt himself. These Maxims have made such deep Impression on the Minds of the Vulgar, that they stick at nothing to gratify their Avarice; which has given Occasion to the making and reviving so many penal Laws, as have circumscribed the Liberty of other virtuous Subjects in such narrow Bounds, as
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can hardly deserve the Name of Freedom to be confined in.

And here, by the way, I cannot help observing, that it was this evil Conduct in our A———ns, of countenancing all sorts of Corruption, that laid the first Foundation of this Country becoming such a horrid Scene of Discord and Confusion, as it appeared at the time of the late Rebellion. The iniquitous Plans that were laid down, and constantly pursued, of enriching those that were possessed of Power, by converting the Revenues of the Publick into private Estates, caused a prodigious Increase of our Debts, even in time of Peace; and gave such just Occasion for Resentment among the People, as soon caused a formidable Opposition; which divided the Nation into such Factions that soon gave the Disaffected an Opportunity of gaining Strength, and afforded Encouragement to the Enemies of the present happy Establishment, to enter into such abominable Measures, and Designs, as hath almost deprived the Northern Inhabitants of this Kingdom

dom of their paternal Rights and Liberties ; and entailed such an immense Charge on the whole Nation, as it will hardly ever be in the Power of Posterity to free themselves from. But these were not the only Evils attendant on the Propagation of universal Corruption ; for its Patrons were furnished by this unhappy Disaster, with a fair Opportunity of strengthening their Hands, and immediately took every Occasion of grasping at such an Immensity of Power, as they thought necessary for the future Security of themselves in their Orb of Influence. All this they chiefly perfected under the specious Pretext of acquiring such Power to the C——n, as might prevent the Danger of any future Insurrections. But if the Prerogative has acquired any additional Strength on this Occasion, the Nation has been a considerable Loofer ; and it is certain that the C——n cannot have a more lasting and better Security, than the sincere Attachment and hearty Affection of the People ; which it is much to be feared may, amongst our Northern Brethren, have been in a small measure al——t-ed, by

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the Weight of those heavy Chains, which our Ad———n has thought fit to manacle them, in order to prevent their future Misbehaviour.

But to return : The Occasion, in a great measure, of the People's adopting such corrupt Maxims to direct themselves by, has been their observing a Profusion of Honours and Dignity, bestow'd upon the Mean and Undeserving, who have had no Pretensions of Birth, Virtue, or Merit to recommend them ; nor any thing else, but an immense, and perhaps ill-gotten Fortune, or an iniquitous Attachment to those who have been at the Head of the Ad———n of publick Affairs. The conferring of Titles upon such as are little more than Vegetables from their Insignificancy, and who never distinguished themselves either by their Virtues, or in their Country's Service, must give umbrage both to the ancient Nobility, and also to the Commons ; as it must depreciate the former, and secretly destroy the Power of the latter. As such an extraordinary and
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partial Increase of Nobles, and Waste of Honours, have generally proceeded from some venal and particular Purposes, and not from any true Principles of Honour and Wisdom ; so the investing of so many prostitute Creatures (as are always ready to embrace, at any Price, those Opportunities of aggrandizing themselves and Families) with such extraordinary Privileges, as give a great Superiority over the People, must needs prove exceeding prejudicial to our Constitution ; as it will render the Nobility too much dependent on the C——n, to be able to support that Medium between K——— and People, for which they were established, in order to temper and moderate the Encroachments of the one, or the Rashness of the other. And the having such a numerous Nobility, must very much affect the Liberties of the People, as they will always think it necessary to keep up a Standing Army, in order to provide for their Children ; who, from the Aggrandizement of their Fathers, would not submit to any other Occupation, or Employment, but that of Arms : So that when all our Country-

Gentlemen are honour'd with the Peerage; we must certainly expect to have their younger Sons soliciting Promotions in the Army: to which, perhaps, many of them may be recommended, through the Interest of their Fathers obtaining a Seat for them in our House of R———ves: and as the eldest Sons of Peers are generally Candidates for some City, Town, or Borough; so if a continual Increase of the P——r——ge should take place, we may, 'tis likely, in a few Years find the Commons dispossessed, and the whole legislative Power of both H——f——s invested solely in the Nobility; the Fathers having Seats in P———t in their own Right, and the Sons by representing the Body of the People. How far such an Alteration would affect our Constitution, or the Independency of both H———s; or what Apprehensions we may be in from any such Danger, is left to the serious Consideration of every candid, impartial, and unprejudiced Person, that has given but the least Attention to some late Proceedings, not much different from what is before expressed.

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Such is our lamentable Condition, that the Constitution is not only endangered from the Prevalency and Encroachments of Corruption and Venality ; but the whole Nation is miserably rent into Parties and Factions, that by strongly contending for Power and C——t Favours, threaten Destruction and Ruin to their Country. Of these the *G——l——ns* and *P——lb——tes* are at present the most distinguished ; the former of which are for continuing this long and destructive War, which their Patron, the late Minister, by his adventurous Measures, has involved us in ; not on the Principle whereon, by him, it was first undertaken, for gratifying the Interest of *H———r*, at the Expence of *Great Britain* ; but purposely to deprive their Enemies the *P——lb——tes* of that extraordinary Influence which they have so long possessed, and so evilly applied. The *G——l——tes* are the more certain, by their promoting, and crying up, this ruinous Measure, to obtain their Ends, as they are conscious that the Nation is become, by long Experience, tho-

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roughly convinced of the Want of Genius, Spirit, and Vivacity, in the present Ad——n ; who were never endued with Wisdom sufficient to form any tolerable Plan, for prosecuting those Measures they had undertaken, nor Courage enough to pursue it with Vigour. But, on the contrary, have been obliged to have recourse to such mean temporary Expedients, that require neither Courage nor Address in the Execution, as has evidently display'd their Deficiency in Abilities to be our Conductors. These miserable *Resources*, as the *French* term them, may preserve the weakest Administration for a time, that is, so long as it affords them a Superiority over Accidents: But they must reduce a State to the most deplorable Condition, and, in the end, discover the Weakness of that M——n——y to the many, which before was only known to a few. The G——l——ns, therefore, taking Advantage of the Weakness of their Competitors, and their Want of Genius to execute the Plan laid down by the late M———r, for humbling *France*, which the *P——b——tes* have unluckily undertaken,

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use the utmost Endeavours to incite the Continuance of the War ; well knowing, that if the approaching Campaign should prove unsuccessful, it will not only confirm the bitter *Invectives*, which they have hitherto made use of to enflame the People against the opposite Party, and sufficiently furnish them with new ones ; but will open such a Scene of approaching *Ruin* and *Destruction*, as must oblige their *Antagonists* either to quit the Helm, or to admit their *Knight-Errant*, the *British Quixote*, into a Share of the Ad——n ; whose Spirit is too well known, to admit of the least Doubt of his pushing things to the utmost Extremity, to re-instate himself in Power, even though it should set his Country in a Blaze.

The *P——lb——tes*, on the other hand, having by their long Possession of Power obtained some Experience in Business ; and, though not Men of the brightest Parts, are yet endowed with great Interest, Wealth and Property, labour diligently to bring about a general Peace, even on almost any Terms, as
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the only Measure that will support their Ad———n, and effectually secure their Influence. Thoroughly conscious of the Malignancy and Designs of their Enemies, they omit no Measures that will thwart them; and for that purpose use their utmost Endeavours to traduce and explode all Schemes for humbling *France* by our naval Force, and possessing ourselves of her Trade, as mere *Chimera's* of the late frantick M———r's Brain.

There are many other Parties beside these, which, though indifferent as to the Continuance of the War, unless with the same View as the G———tes of dispossessing the present M——y, have, nevertheless, each adopted some favourite Scheme of Government; and would endeavour to promote the same, though they should hazard the Ruin of the Publick, could they but observe the least Opportunity of gratifying their private Interests thereby. Such is the Misery the Nation endures, and thus great are the Dangers she is threaten'd with, from the Prevalency

lency of Factions and Parties, amongst our C—rs, Patriots, and Anti-Patriots : and to rescue us from this miserable Situation, requires the greatest Virtue, Abilities, and Perseverance, in those that are enabled, or embolden'd, to attempt our Preservation ; whose having the real Good of their Country at heart, will soon be manifest, by their refusing to join any of those Parties that have been hitherto formed, only with a private View, by the Contrariety of their Measures, to promote her Destruction.

Having thus plainly evinced Corruption, Venality, and a Prostitution of the Constitution, to have been the original and actual Occasion of those many Oppressions and Grievances under which this Nation groans ; let us now descend a little lower, and instance a few Particulars, that add great Weight to our Miseries : amongst which, the profuse Mismanagement of the Supplies granted for the carrying on the War, and the extravagant Manner in which it has been hitherto conducted, cry loudly for Redress : and such

has been the Want of Oeconomy in our Managers at this time, that we have been obliged for these four Years past to raise, upon an Average, three Millions and a half *per Annum* more than was rais'd in the first four Years of Queen *Anne's* War; and have been so far from gaining any Benefit thereby, or of making such a large Difference answer the proposed End, that it has not afforded us one Victory, or given us the small Satisfaction of a Day of Rejoicing, excepting that for his Royal Highness the Duke's defeating the Rebels. Neither have we the least Prospect of making any other Purchase, in return for such large Sums as are annually squander'd, than immense Debts, Bankruptcy and Beggary.

The signal Success that Providence has bestow'd on our Fleets, should point out to us the strengthening of our Navy, by putting it under such good Regulations, as should render it in the most formidable Condition; and also the giving some extraordinary Encouragement to our Privateers, as the only Method

thod of putting a happy End to the War, and of gaining some solid Advantages by the Destruction of the *French* Marine and Commerce : the compleating the latter of which, would not only indemnify us in a great measure for all our former Losses and Expence ; but, if pursued with due Ardour, Spirit and Vivacity, would sooner bring that haughty Court to an Acceptance of reasonable Terms, than the most extensive Conquests that our Arms could obtain on the Continent.

Yet while this is neglected, and the *French* can find a Sufficiency in *Italy*, or the *Low Countries*, to direct our Attention from the Business of the Ocean, they are certain of carrying the Day ; as they know that we are then expending our Strength and Spirits out of that Element which Nature has allotted us to maintain a Supremacy in ; and that whatever pains we take to reign Masters at Land, we can never reach to Empire, unless we first establish our Dominion thoroughly by Sea : so that if we can but preserve our Coasts and Commerce, and annoy those of

the Enemy, we may reap some Benefit; and whatever other Enterprizes we take in hand, are more likely to tend to our Destruction than Preservation.

But that obstinate, headstrong, and perverse martial Spirit, that at present prevails in our Leaders, is so far from affording us the least View of any Advantages to be expected from their Management of the Navy, or of any Ease or Happiness to be acquired from their pursuing any such Plan as is here laid down, that, on the contrary, it presents us with nothing but the most dark and gloomy Prospect, by a continual Preparation of vast Armaments for the Continent, without the least Thought of adding a single Bottom to those on the Stocks, for the Security of our own Coasts and Trade: so that their Minds seem to be so very intent on the Support and Defence of our Neighbours, that they have no leisure to think on any Expedients that may be necessary for our own Interest and Preservation. Neither can the loud Cries, nor bitter Groans of a distressed
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and miserable People, awaken their Attention, or divert their Thoughts one Moment from their intended Purposes, although the whole Kingdom resounds with Clamours, Sighs and Reflections; and the Island of *Great Britain* is become one vast Theatre of Distress and Lamentation.

If the Afflictions of their Mother-Country cannot touch the Hearts of these Barbarians, much less can it be expected that they will attend to any Complaints from our Colonies; though it is very evident that they are in the utmost Distress, and that the additional Hardships that are daily imposed on them for carrying on this destructive War, will in the end most certainly prove their Ruin.

To make a Recapitulation of the particular Grievances which every Rank of Subjects, or every Branch of Commerce, Manufacture, or Industry labours under, would require a very large Volume: But, to give a short Summary of the Whole, in as concise a manner as possible, I shall begin with those

of the Farmer, although perhaps he may be the last Man that feels any, as he is not so sensible of many Oppressions to which others are exposed, unless new Impositions are laid upon Land, whereby his Rent generally becomes raised. But it may be said of our Grievances as of our Taxes, that they run in a Circle from the Farmer or Grafter, to the Manufacturer, Artificer, Mechanick, and Merchant; and from the Merchant, Mechanick, Artificer, and Manufacturer, back again to the Farmer or Grafter. The slow Circulation of Money is an universal Complaint; and this affects our Home-Trade and Inland-Markets as much as any thing: so that the very Farmers and Grasters cry loudly for a Peace; the one, that he may export his Grain, and dispose of his Hay, to satisfy his Landlord, and pay his Assessments; and the other, that he may dispose of such Cattle as the raging Distemper has left him, and by purchasing a fresh Stock, be enabled to carry on his Business to some Advantage: but this he cannot reasonably expect, as the Markets daily turn out for the worse, and are likely to

so to do, till Peace shall restore our Commerce, and thereby keep our Coin more at home, and turn the Balance of Trade in our Favour. Then, although we shall not presently meet with Relief from our Taxes, thousands of Artificers and Manufacturers, that are now nearly starving, will find Employment: the poor Man will be able to purchase more Necessaries for his Family, and those that have Fortunes will be more inclined to open their Purse-Strings towards Benevolence, Hospitality, and good Living, which must naturally raise the Markets, and take the Produce both of the Farmer and Grafter off their Hands: whereas few at present, that have any Money, care to dispose of it in any other manner, than in purchasing Shares in the Funds, Annuities, Lotteries, and other State-Bubbles, that dazzle their Imaginations with the pleasing Views of obtaining great Riches; till the fatal Effects of the Want of promoting a due Circulation of Specie, will convince them of the Emptiness of their Dream, when it is past recalling.

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The Artificer, Manufacturer, and Merchant, continually feel the Decay of our Commerce, both from the Want of a Trade with *Spain*, and the Losses that we suffer from the Enemies Privateers: so that it is no wonder that we see the publick Papers so amply enlarged with Bankrupts: and add the continual Increase of Taxes upon all the Necessaries of Life, and it will be found, that those who are to improve their Fortunes, or obtain a Subsistence by Commerce, Handicraft, or Industry, are in a very lamentable and distressed Condition; as is manifest from the frequent failing of the one, and the daily Entrance of the other in our regular Forces, which constantly furnishes sufficient Recruits for our Army on easy Terms, without obliging the G———t to put the arbitrary and detested Practice of Impresssing into Force.

Although the landed Gentlemen may not be subject to these Grievances, yet they are affected by them in some manner or other, as
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they must certainly feel the excessive Dearness of all Commodities they have Occasion for, the Weight of our Taxes, the bad Payment of their Tenants and the Emptiness of their Farms, and the Increase of our publick Debts and Funds; so that their Incomes and Estates must suffer such a considerable Diminution, as must make them sensible of the national Misery and Decay, though perhaps they are not able to behold it in such a just, but deplorable Point of View, as that wherein it presents itself to the Merchant, Artificer, and Manufacturer.

In a word, every Individual, from the ribban'd Peer to the hard-working Labourer, must sensibly feel the Wretchedness of our Condition, by the large Imposts and Duties that are laid upon every Part of our Trade, Manufactures, and Necessaries of Life: so that the Riches which the Nation should acquire from the Industry of her Merchants, Farmers, Artificers, and Manufacturers, are profusely squandered by the lavish Statesman, for no other Purposes but what are founded

on sinister Views, and private Emolument. And such is the deplorable State of our Commerce, that it is past hopes of meeting any Relief or Redress, even should we be able to obtain the most favourable and advantageous Terms of Peace, that it were for our most sanguine Wishes to flatter us with; which will be the more evident to any one who reflects, that our Commerce has hitherto borne the chief Expence of the War; for though the Assessment of the Land-Tax is as high as can well be endured, yet from the Inequality of the Imposition of that Duty, and the Want of Frugality in the Collection, it is considerably diminished from what it would otherwise afford; and thereby the Publick must, consequently, be great Sufferers.

This Abuse has caused the Produce of our Commerce to be over-rated, which, together with the Accidents of the War, has reduced her to such a low Ebb, as to be scarce able to support herself: and no sooner shall the *French* Trade gain Strength, by the
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ending the present War, than we must expect no other than to be underfold at every foreign Market, not only by our natural Enemies the *French*, but also by our good Friends and Allies the *Hollanders*, for whom we have been such great Sticklers, and for whose future Ease and Security we undergo such intolerable Hardships: For it may be justly averred, that the Prosperity of the *British* Trade would be beheld by all our Neighbours in general with a much more evil Eye than that wherewith some of them affect to view the late rapid and exorbitant Conquests of the *French*.

Placemen, Ministerial Implements, shameless Apostates, thriving Undertakers, may, it is true, remain unaffected as yet with the national Distress, and may endeavour to lessen the Weight of our Grievances, by flinging into the other Scale the Acquisitions of Wealth made by some Individuals since the Commencement of the War; but as these only increase private Property, the Nation can no more be said to be a Gainer thereby, than by

the immense Profits that our State-Jobbers and Usurers have made of the publick Necessities, which has reduced us, and very likely our Posterity, for many Generations to come, to be their Bond-Slaves.

In fine, the Dreadfulness of our Situation will be more manifest, from the Consideration of the hard Dilemma to which our Politicks are reduced, either of continuing a ruinous War, which may probably prove our Destruction, or of concluding a Peace, which, though it may protract our Ruin for the present, yet will certainly prove our undoing in the end. *Wretched and deplorable Condition, to all that shall reflect on it justly!*

It would certainly be some Alleviation to our Sorrows, and Comfort to our Afflictions, if we could but acquire the least glimmering Hopes of a Redress to our Grievances, or of seeing an end to our Distress: but as those Men who undertook to procure these things for us, and on whom we too long and fatally depended, have only wrangled themselves
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into Posts and Preferments, and thereby got to be Sharers of the publick Spoils, without any Regard or Attention to the great End of our Preservation ; so it is not from Them that we can longer expect any Relief, who have suffered themselves to be so shamefully corrupted ; and from being the most virulent Declaimers against the evil Conduct of insufficient M——rs, are, on the sudden, become the most active, notorious, abandon'd, and prostitute Tools in their Service. Nor can we expect Redress from any Party, unless the Work of Reformation be begun with true Spirit and Vigour, and carried on with becoming Ardour, Resolution and Address, by procuring a thorough Change not only of Men, but of Measures. Then *Britain* may once again cheer her drooping Spirits, and regain her pristine Vigour, by shaking off those Bands of Corruption and Vengality wherewith she has long been heavily shackled, and embracing the amiable Ties of Virtue, Honour, and Honesty ; that must re-place the Crown of Plenty on her Head,

and

and procure for her the Blessing of a lasting Peace, wherein to enjoy the Fruits of her Harvests, Commerce, and Industry.

N. B. *This Pamphlet was intended to be published in March last, but was retarded on account of the great distance of the Author from London.*

F I N I S.

